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MONDAY
AUGUST 9, 1954

The Horace Reeds and Diana Forbes of Boston came to lunch with us. Horace is leaving Sunday for Africa to make a tour on behalf of FOA of those places in the territories where U. S. Government money has been expended. Diana Forbes is the 22-year-old daughter of our friends Liz and Murray Forbes. She is returning home this autumn to engage in book publishing in New York.

The officers of Detachment "A" called on me this afternoon and we reviewed what their work would be in either of two contingencies: (1) the passage of EDC; (2) the rearmament of Germany by some other method.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
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Derived from Tommy's information, we sent off a joint telegram with the Embassy on the present maneuvers in Mendès' entourage on the treaty. It was as follows:

"TO: SECSTATE WASHINGTON. 548.

"INFO: LONDON 126 EYES ONLY AMBASSADOR, ROME 28 EYES ONLY AMBASSADOR, BONN 84 EYES ONLY CONANT, THE HAGUE 15 EYES ONLY AMBASSADOR, BRUSSELS 20 EYES ONLY AMBASSADOR, LUXEMBOURG 12 EYES ONLY MINISTER.

"LIMIT DISTRIBUTION.

"Following is summary of information on EDC ratification picture available to us.

"1. Mendès-France has still not made known his intentions on EDC. He now has before him two separate approaches. One paper has been prepared by anti-EDC group under direction of Parodi. Second paper has been prepared by de Seynes. The two documents were prepared after consultations Saturday and Sunday with advisers referred to in Embtel 504. Bourgès-Maunoury was asked by Mendès to participate late Saturday. Mendès is continuing his 'confrontation' with his advisers today and his decision is not expected until at least Wednesday.

"2. Sunday draft of Parodi paper submitted to Mendès is, according to our information, an elaboration of 'little NATO' concept referred to in Embtel 504.

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Apparently in draft all EDC institutions would remain to carry out economic and production articles of EDC Treaty. Council of Ministers in seven-nation coalition could give directives to Production Commissariat of six-nation 'armament pool'. Extent of special limitations on Germany not clear. Proposal gives no indication of how seven-nation coalition would fit into NATO. In fact it is drafted almost without reference to NATO and SACEUR. NATO command structure would be entirely duplicated. Membership of Germany in NATO is not touched on. There is no reference to present conventions and statements on EDC association with US and UK. Direct elections for European Assembly would apparently be dropped. Proposal as presently drafted is not tied in to talks with Russians. Only new appeal is possibility of closer UK association through seven-nation coalition and retention by France of national army. Anti-EDC group use rather effectively argument that real changes are necessary if EDC Treaty is to be improved and that they will accept nothing that does not require resubmission to Parliaments.

"3. Parodi group claims that support of UK for their proposal would be quick and certain. Apparently they have some indication of Kirkpatrick's views to give credence to this claim. Parodi group advocates immediate secret negotiations with UK on basis of this 'little NATO' concept as soon as Mendès has made decision.

"4. Document drafted by de Seynes takes up suggestions made by Bourgès-Maunoury but includes new suggestions for changes in present text of EDC Treaty. Most of new suggestions would, in fact, change EDC Treaty and would probably require new action in FedRep and Benelux Parliaments unless other countries stretched interpretation of Treaty beyond reason or would go much too far in discrimination against Germany to be acceptable. Most of new suggestions stretch

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Article 39 to or beyond reasonable limit. This Article allows Council by unanimous vote to issue directives for action of Commissariat. For example, one suggestion is that six nations should agree before ratification to effect that Council should issue directive stating that any one nation by mere announcement that its vital interests are adversely affected can suspend any decision of Commissariat until such time as there is conciliation between Council and Commissariat. This suspension would remain in effect until lifted by two-thirds vote of Council. The suggested directive is to exist for a five-year period and was worked out with Guerin de Beaumont as a compromise to replace his suggestions for a five-year suspension of supranational features of Treaty.

"5. Tactics apparently are to have Mendès decide on approach of presenting EDC Treaty with changes. Once Mendès is committed to this Bourgès and other pro-Europeans would presumably oppose many of specific suggestions in order to arrive at a final proposal for Brussels meeting which would be reasonably acceptable. Then at Brussels meeting, other EDC nations and perhaps US would be relied upon to eliminate any undesirable suggestions for changes in EDC text which still remained by refusing to agree to anything which must be resubmitted to FedRep and Benelux Parliaments or which discriminated against FedRep. Actually, it is not clear how strong Bourgès or other pro-Europeans will be in opposing any specific suggestions once Mendès adopts this procedure and we have no indication of extent of consultation Mendès intends to have with Mollet, Teitgen, Reynaud, Pinay and other European leaders before he goes to Brussels. Our impression is that Bourgès and other pro-Europeans are now inclined to rely primarily upon US, FedRep and the Netherlands to reject any unwise or undesirable suggestions for change. Impression still persists even in pro-European group that Spaak will be a pushover for almost any suggestion made by Mendès-France.

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"6. Pro-European advisers around Bourgès and Mendès have been given new confidence because of extreme nature and bad presentation of proposal put forward by anti-EDC group. They find it easy to demonstrate that such a proposal would be a clear abandonment of EDC Treaty and would require new and long negotiations in NATO and separately with US, UK, FedRep and other EDC countries. Pro-Europeans speculate, however, on possibility that Mendès would adopt 'Little NATO' proposal and present it at Brussels in knowledge that proposal would be rejected. Then Mendès would find some procedure to present both EDC Treaty and 'Little NATO" proposal to French Assembly in a manner that would lead to rejection of EDC Treaty and to no decision on German rearmament. Pro-Europeans recognize that such action would involve a grave risk that Mendès government would have to resign but in their speculation consider it a possibility that Mendès might accept this risk. On Sunday Mendès himself expressed displeasure with 'Little NATO' proposal. This also gave encouragement to pro-EDC group, but, in expressing his displeasure, Mendès called attention to difficult personal position in which he found himself. He pointed out that nearly all his close advisers who have worked so faithfully with him over a long period of time to help him obtain power were confirmed in their violent opposition to EDC. It was most difficult for him to put through the one policy which they had so long and so vigorously opposed.

"Above is for Dept's information. We recommend strongly against Dept taking any action at this time. The matter is still too undecided to warrant thought of offering advice other than what we are attempting to do in private conversations." DILLON."

André de Staercke and Tommy came to dinner tonight. I had a frank talk with André about the rumors in Paris that Mr. Spaak was being soft on possible changes in the treaty. He entertains no fears on that score, and says recently Spaak

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gave Rivière, the French Ambassador in Brussels, a written communication for transmittal to the French Government stating his opposition to any plan that would require resubmission of the treaty to the Parliaments concerned.

Tommy had another piece of news tonight, with a memorandum covering suggested changes which may be proposed by Mendès. At least four of the 13 changes would require resubmission of the treaty.

EDC

The/atmosphere is presently bad and unpromising, but the real showdown will come at Brussels, where, if the Benelux countries and the Fedrep are alert and firm, something satisfactory might be worked out.

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